1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kürdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kürds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *pewrt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandoor*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kûrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is called *djadjik*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

241 The dress of Kûrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *kûsk*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *fûkardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kûrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *fûkeradia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kûrdish lady. Notwith-

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowandus. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Qi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the hatshir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 962
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [963] pqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [853] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandog, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[39].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandir* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[40]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sifrid*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tawa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[41]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[42], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *halid* or *khd* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Baikha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, ḥir, is never used raw[43]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled *ḥir* a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dhu*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

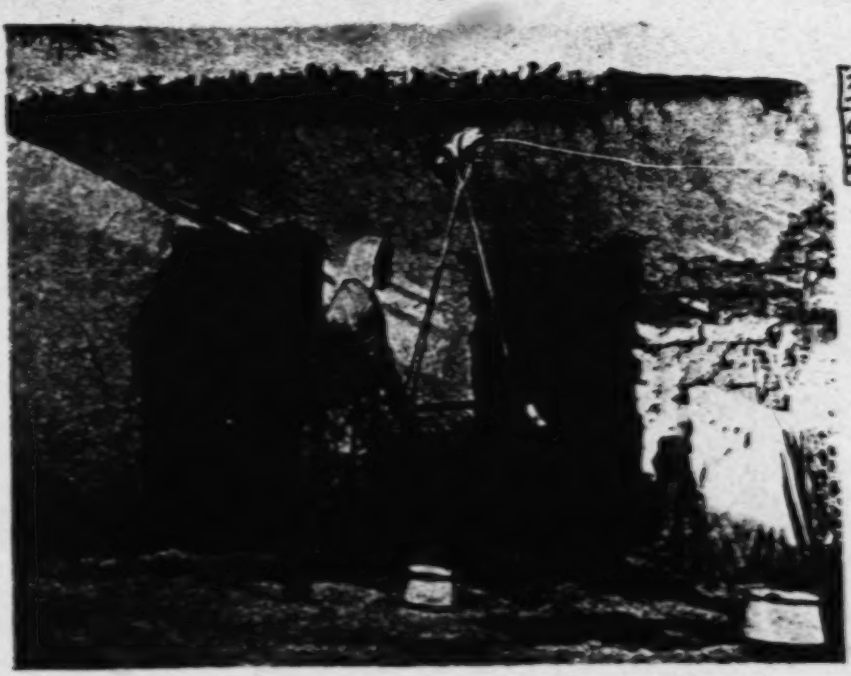
Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mašk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the wall of the cookhouse or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, *sepê*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[49] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rowgan*[49].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Topzawa.



4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kəwčik*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *lihāfi*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samāwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar waited tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

The churning sack is hung upon a beam in the coolhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dug sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

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[312
490]

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

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[357
[476]

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.